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Slavery in the East Africa Protectorate.

PARLIAMENTARY PAPER.*

FOLLOWING close upon Sir Charles Eliot's Report on the general condition of the Protectorate came an official Memorandum on the special subject of Slavery and Free Labour prepared by Mr. Monson, Assistant Secretary to the Administration, which was published in July, just too late for notice in our last issue.

Mr. Monson's remarks under the heading "Slavery" do not add much to our knowledge, and are mainly a recapitulation of previous statements on the subject. Slavery is prohibited everywhere in the Protectorate, except in the ten-mile strip, and "in point of fact it does not exist except, perhaps, to a very small extent among the Somalis." In the coast-strip slaves exist in considerable, though diminishing, numbers, the Decree of 1890 working so as "automatically" to put an end to slavery within the next few years. Mr. Monson draws a distinction between the character of the slavery in the provinces of Seyidie and Tanaland, the former being very mild, and the labour conditions easy, owing in large measure to the possibility of slaves escaping across the boundary of the ten-mile strip outside of the Sultan's dominions, where the construction of the Uganda Railway having created a great demand for labour, slaves not only become free but can get work at good wages. The masters have therefore been forced to treat them liberally in order to retain them. In Tanaland, Mr. Monson states that the masters have much more hold upon their slaves, who are generally eager for emancipation.

We notice, however, that the portion of the coast-strip which is included in the Tanaland province, is shown by the map to be very small, so presumably the number of slaves cannot be large.

Mr. Monson suggests that if any large Government or private enterprise were started in this province a repetition of what has occurred in Seyidie might reasonably be looked for.

Masters are, as a rule, anxious to retain their slaves, partly owing to the difficulty in getting free labour, and partly for the sake of the prestige which their possession still confers.

* Africa, No. 8, 1903.

Slaves may be roughly divided into three classes:—domestic, agricultural and artisan. The domestic slaves are most kindly treated of all, and form part of their master's household. The second class are in rather a different position, but, generally speaking, have an easy life, "procuring without difficulty sufficient food for themselves and their families from the land they cultivate on their two free days, and from what they can appropriate out of the crops belonging to their masters." The third class of slaves are petty traders of every sort, who pay a percentage of their earnings to the master every month, but never more than one half of the whole sum earned.

Mr. Monson concludes with the usual remark that slavery is really a misnomer for the institution described, and the expression of the pious opinion, which is really a commonplace of every official report that is issued on the subject, that "the system is dying a natural death," and that "it is far better in every way to await patiently the inevitable collapse of this institution, so repugnant in principle to English ideas, so little injurious in practice to its supposed victims."

The case of certain slaves who were freed by the Church Missionary Society and are stated not to have turned out very well, is cited as showing that emancipation in large batches is not a success. The date of this experiment is not given, but we believe it to be a considerable time ago when the conditions were quite different from the present.

On the other hand, Mr. Monson tells us of villages formed in Jubaland in past years by runaway slaves who raise good crops and live in well-built huts under the rule of chiefs, who have entirely lost their slavish character. This successful colony cultivates the valley of the Juba River for about 200 miles.

LABOUR.

Mr. Monson has submitted an interesting statement on the labour question, which, as he well remarks at the outset,

"is one of the most important and interesting problems which engage the attention of the Administration of East Africa, not only in connection with the development of the country itself but in view of the demands which are now being made by the mine-owners of the Rand for a supply of natives from the north. It will, therefore, be necessary to consider carefully whether the Protectorate contains a population in excess of its actual and probable requirements, whether such surplus population could be induced to engage themselves for prolonged periods of service in a distant and unknown country and, lastly, whether it would be desirable in their own interests and those of East Africa that they should be encouraged to do so."

The characteristic qualities of East African native labour are discussed in some detail and the capabilities of the various tribes are commented upon. The pastoral and warlike tribes are "utterly unsuited for labour both by character and traditions," considering manual labour derogatory, and these, of which there are many, such as the Somalis and Gallas in Jubaland and

Tanaland, the Masai in Ukumba and Naivasha, and others in the north and west, have given, or are likely to give, the Government trouble.

As a rule the native races can supply only agricultural labourers and unskilled workmen.

The general characteristics of their labour are thus summed up:—

"The African is essentially a child. Like a child he dislikes sustained effort over a long period of time, is careless of the future, and requires constant supervision. He is attached to his home and dislikes leaving it, having a great dread of countries and customs with which he is unacquainted. Natives will, however, go on long expeditions with Europeans whom they know and trust, as, for instance, in the Ashanti Expedition, when over 2,000 porters went to the West Coast, and did very good service there. In dealing with them the greatest firmness, but at the same time the greatest sympathy, is required, and any employer of labour must bear this very carefully in mind, as the results achieved will depend largely on the exercise of these qualities.

"The need of constant supervision cannot be too strongly insisted upon. Natives are generally lazy, and will do as little as they conveniently can. On the other hand, they can do a great deal if they think they have to, and will even work fairly hard of their own volition at certain seasons, *i.e.*, at the times of sowing and gathering in crops. Some tribes are also good porters, carrying loads up to 60 lbs. for long periods together.

"Generally speaking, they are not thrifty, and cultivate little beyond their actual needs. High wages will scarcely tempt them, though they will try to get as much as they can when once they have determined to work."

It is worthy of note that wages are said to be almost invariably paid in cash, which the natives much prefer. Mr. Monson considers it very much in the interest of Government to encourage this tendency, there being far too little coin in the country at present, and much of the hut tax is consequently paid in labour and produce. We may compare this statement with Mr. Cave's strong opinion *against* the payment of money wages to the labourers in Pemba island, expressed in the last White Paper on Zanzibar.

There are three centres of working natives, and the population is but little in excess of the present needs of the country, allowing for the possible discovery of minerals, or the institution of large industrial enterprises within the Protectorate, and for the substitution of natives for the thousands of coolies now employed on the Uganda Railway.

For internal development there is a steadily increasing labour supply, and we are glad to note that Mr. Monson looks forward as an ideal to "the attainment of that most desirable of objects, the exploitation of the natural resources of the country by the voluntary labour of its inhabitants."

On the question of recruiting labour from the Protectorate for the Rand Mines, Mr. Monson has a decided opinion and writes strongly. Of the treacherous and fanatical Somali tribes he humorously remarks that "any one who could induce them to migrate in large numbers to South Africa would be

welcomed as a benefactor to the Protectorate Administration and repatriation would, to say the least of it, not be insisted upon," but nothing is less likely to occur than their emigration.

As regards native labour generally, Mr. Monson clearly shows that to export it would be bad alike for the Protectorate and for the natives themselves.

"The question as to whether natives would willingly undertake service for long periods in a distant country is not difficult to answer, and the reply would be in the negative. As has been shown, the Kavirondo and Kikuyu dislike to leave their homes even for a month, and will do no outside work at all during the season of cultivation. *A fortiori* they will not bind themselves for a period of years, and their repugnance to doing so would be still greater if the conditions of life in the mines were honestly explained to them. The 'compound' system, though doubtless excellent and even necessary, would not appeal to them at all. To obtain any quantity of labour on such terms no method but force would be of any use. A certain number of more sophisticated coast Swahilis might perhaps be willing to go, but they would be precisely the class which can least easily be spared, and, at present, supplies the Protectorate with headmen and porters for long journeys, office and domestic servants, labour for the Zanzibar and Pemba clove plantations, soldiers, policemen, and other kinds of permanent labour.

"Finally, would it be in the interest of the native himself to encourage him to accept such a contract? He would doubtless earn high wages and would not be allowed to dissipate them while in South Africa. They would not last him long, however, when he came back, to judge from what occurs in the case of porters returning from long journeys with the accumulated wages of months and even, in times past, of years. The money is all spent in a few days, or weeks at the most, and there is nothing to show for it.

"Apart from money, it is difficult to see what he would gain. The civilizing influence of 'compound' life varied by hard physical labour in a mine during working hours, would not seem to be very great, while the life itself would be infinitely distasteful to him, and the change of climate and conditions would, not improbably, be prejudicial to his health. Well fed, clothed and housed he would be, doubtless, but the African native has countless little prejudices and partialities, insignificant enough perhaps, but possessing in his eyes a quite disproportionate importance. Anyone who has had to do with him knows how numerous are the petty disputes and questions he raises. These need sympathetic treatment, if he is to be satisfied, and the Europeans who thoroughly understand the ways of East African natives are not so numerous that any of them can be spared from the natural field of their activities. The 'compounds' would be managed by men who, however able and kind-hearted they might be, would probably lack the special knowledge needed to make their charges contented and happy.

"The conclusions arrived at may be briefly summed up as follows :—There is in the East Africa Protectorate no surplus labouring population beyond what is actually, or may potentially be, required; it would be impossible to induce the people to proceed to South Africa on the terms proposed if the conditions of 'compound' life were honestly explained to them, and, finally, it is highly doubtful whether the scheme, even if otherwise practicable, would be beneficial to the natives themselves, and therefore deserving of encouragement."

We are thankful to think that so plain an official pronouncement must be decisive against any present endeavour to carry out in East Africa the scheme of recruiting which appears to have already been attended by disastrous results in the British Central Africa Protectorate.

Native Labour in South Africa.

THE reports from Johannesburg show that the experiment of importing native labourers from British Central Africa has thus far turned out anything but a success. Less than 400 of the authorized 1,000 men have been brought to the mines, the remainder being stated to be unobtainable. It was reported at the end of July that 17 out of 360 imported natives had already died, and a number variously stated from 29 up to as many as 150 men had been in hospital at a time. Mr. P. H. Ross, who was in charge of the Nyasaland "boys," stated as a reason for this high rate of mortality that they ought not to have been brought to the Rand at that time of year; if they had been introduced during the warmer season they would have had a better chance of becoming acclimatized to the different climate of the Rand. Further, there had been an epidemic of influenza in the mines which attacked the newcomers with virulence, and caused a panic amongst them. Many also of the immigrants refused to work underground when they reached the mines, and some 70 or 80 were charged at the Johannesburg police court, and, in spite of their plea that they had not understood the nature of the work which they had contracted to undertake, sentenced to fines or imprisonment. This all shows the difficulty and danger involved in carrying out this unfortunate deportation experiment, to which Sir John Gorst, Sir Brampton Gurdon, and other members of Parliament have called attention in the House of Commons. How, as Sir J. Gorst asked, is the nature of underground labour in gold mines to be satisfactorily explained by a magistrate to the contracting natives?

Some significant extracts from a letter received from British Central Africa by the Master of Polwarth were published in the *Scotsman* of August 11th. The writer says:—

"You will be interested in the development of the labour recruiting question on the spot here. The Government has been doing its best to get the 1,000 natives to go to the mines. They have tried to get 500 from the Lower Shire and 500 from the Lake district. Their agents have been sending out the Government police to enrol labour on the Lake shore, with the result that the people thought there was to be compulsory seizing of the people, and they ran away. I have not heard how many they have managed to get, but by last accounts they have only got something over 300 where they wanted 500. On the Lower River the recruiting agents have succeeded in getting only 376 instead of the 500 whom they wanted to complete the experiment. There was not the rush that the Government here expected; in fact, on the Lake, where they were offering 30s. per month, the natives refused to go for that amount, and the Government had to give 45s.

"The absurd side of the whole matter is that on the Lower Shire, where the Government are recruiting for the mines of the Transvaal, the railway company have had to import natives from Central Angoniland to get the building of the railway begun. That is to say, the railway contractors have had to bring natives into the Lower Shire district to fill the place of those whom the Government agents have sent to the Rand. The Parliamentary Paper dealing with the subject shows that what we heard of the farming out of the native is true—that for each native sent to the mines the Government is to get 10s., in addition to the hut tax, 6s.—in all, 16s. per native.

"With the Government here acting as recruiting agents, there is every possible scope for forced labour of the worst kind. I think this only needs to be known at home to be condemned with the unanimous voice of the country."

We notice in the evidence given before the Johannesburg Labour Commission the statement of a Mr. E. Wilson, whose experience is said to have brought him into close touch with the native tribes, that "the Central Africans are not labourers, and would never be an appreciable source of supply to the Transvaal."

The recent Report* of the Trade of British Central Africa by the Acting Commissioner only refers to the emigration of natives from the Protectorate to South Africa as being "in an experimental stage." There is, however, stated to be a certain regular migration of certain natives to Beira and South Rhodesia, and about 3,000 or 4,000 natives annually make the journey of their own accord, and return to their homes after six or eight months' work. The Collectors of the districts "unanimously report that a great improvement takes place in the native after contact with civilization in South Africa; his ideas are enlarged, and his desire is to build better houses, and to dress in a more cleanly manner." The West Nyasa natives are in demand at Salisbury as cooks and house-boys. The Rev. Dr. Laws, the well-known Scotch missionary, is also quoted as having been agreeably disappointed in his experience of the result on the natives of a journey for work in the Salisbury Gold Fields on their return.

There is an obvious difference, however, between such voluntary migration beyond the Protectorate of the natives of certain districts in search of work, which is, we gather, mainly domestic—and the recruiting of labourers on a large scale for underground work in the gold mines of the Transvaal, a far longer distance from their homes.

Moreover, the Report refers to the construction of a railway from Chiromo to Blantyre, and afterwards to Lake Nyasa, as shortly to be begun, and the work is estimated to require about 12,000 labourers annually. The Acting Commissioner foresees no difficulty in obtaining the number of extra workers.

The Report also draws attention to the experimental growing of cotton in the Protectorate, which promises to be a success, and it is hoped that there will be over 4,000 acres of cotton under cultivation by the end of the year.

* Africa No. 13 (1903).

In this connection we observe with interest some articles by Mr. R. S. Hynde, which have recently appeared in the *Central African Times*, citing the opinions of Dr. Livingstone on the value of British Central Africa as a cotton-growing country. The country was discovered by the great traveller when leader of the Zambesi Expedition, which was sent out by the British Government (1858-1864) expressly to promote civilization and commerce as an aid to the suppression of the slave trade. One of the main objects of the Expedition set forth in the Government instructions was to engage the natives in industrial pursuits and land cultivation, in the hope that if they could be induced to develop the resources of the country, their industry would prove more profitable to them than the old slave trading. "The Expedition," it is stated, "was sent in accordance with the settled policy of the English Government."

"It may be said," writes Mr. Hynde, "that the Protectorate was established by Government some thirty years later with a view to the same ends. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the settled policy of the English Government will still be continued, and that as they put down the export of slaves in 1860, so they will discourage the export of labour in 1903, and endeavour to get the natives to engage in the production of the raw materials so much wanted in British manufacture and on which the stability, not of the South African gold mines, but of the industrial supremacy of the Empire depends.

* * * * *

"If the native can be got to grow and produce cotton, either on plantations financed and directed by white men, or, as on the Lake, on their own little plots of land, will any one say that it will be better for them earning a wage in Johannesburg, at the risk of all those evils attendant on such an experiment? Granted that the wage to be earned is larger, is it better that they should for a few short years earn a higher wage while their own country stagnates; or would it not be better for them to earn the moderate but sufficient income which at present satisfies their every want, and at the same time be developing the resources of their own country, and raising themselves as a nation to a higher plane?"

Livingstone himself, as a result of the Expedition, opened a cotton field 400 miles in length, and he entertained the hope that "a perfectly new era had commenced in a region much larger than the cotton fields of the Southern States of America." His narrative unfortunately went on to relate how all this fair promise was frustrated by the Portuguese slave trade, and the cotton culture practically came to an end with the other cultivations.

A recent return of the statistics of native mortality in the Rand Mines, published as a Parliamentary Paper,* shows that the average number of deaths in three mines reaches 42·03 per 1,000 natives, a figure which is double the highest county death rate in England of the whole population, including women and children, while the Rand labourers are, of course, only men in the prime of life. The rate is recognized by the district medical officer, who reports, to be abnormally high, and is said to be due to several extraordinary

* No. 345.

and temporary conditions, such as the diversion of the ordinary native food supply. There is a considerable amount of pulmonary disease among the labourers, and a group of mine doctors has met together, at the suggestion of Sir Godfrey Lagden, to advise the Government as to diet and other matters connected with the welfare of natives on the Rand.

Some interesting and important evidence on the general question of labour has been given at the Commission of Inquiry appointed by the Chamber of Mines, which has been sitting in Johannesburg. The composition of this Commission has been criticised, it being said to contain an over representation of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, other interests being inadequately represented on it. Evidence has been given by, among others, Sir Godfrey Lagden and Sir Percy Fitzgerald. The former declared that there was no reason why natives from any part of South Africa should not work in the Rand mines and survive; he did not at all hold the view that those who came from lower altitudes were necessarily unable to stand the Rand climate, but they must be properly fed and properly clothed; they were doing all they could to check sickness and mortality on the mines, and great improvements had been effected.

Evidence was given by several witnesses from different parts of Africa that the natives did not like mine labour. The Swazis, for example, have a saying, quoted by a witness who was a recruiting agent in Swaziland, that they would sooner be poor men in their own country than die on the Rand with money in their hands. A telegram was read from the Commissioner of British Somaliland to the effect that all labour was required locally, and the Somalis were not suitable for work in South Africa. "The work of establishing the current of emigration among the natives of Mozambique and directing it to the mines of the Transvaal," said another witness, a late Portuguese recruiting agent, "is much more difficult than might be supposed."

Sir Percy Fitzgerald is sure that African labour will not suffice for the needs of the Rand. Either the present supply must be supplemented or stagnation will set in until white labour becomes cheap labour. But "men cannot wait for bread." Mining is the basis of South African prosperity, especially in the Transvaal. They must broaden the base of the industry, or the whole edifice would topple over.

On the other hand, Mr. Cresswell, a mine manager, gave evidence strongly in favour of the employment of white labour, stating that the saving due to its use during July and August was £5,700.

But the general clamour for cheap Chinese labour continues to be loud and insistent, and the Commission (the report of which is expected very shortly) will, it is thought, express this demand in no uncertain language.

The Duke of Abercorn and Lord Grey, speaking at the meeting of the British South Africa Company, both gave their adhesion to the importation of Asiatic labour into Rhodesia, in order to supplement the insufficient supply.

Lord Grey stated emphatically that there was *no forced labour in Southern Rhodesia*, or, so far as he knew, in any part of South Africa. But they were bound "to do their duty towards the native," and not to encourage "the growth in idle wantonness of a nation who waxed fat on the labour of their slave wives."

In view of the tendency of South African opinion on the importation of Chinese labour and on the general question it is somewhat disquieting to learn, from a reply given by Mr Chamberlain to a question recently put in the House of Commons, that the Legislative Council of the Transvaal has "complete authority to deal with the labour question in all its aspects, without first receiving the sanction of the Imperial Parliament," and the Government are not prepared to refer any such measures to Parliament before final steps are taken.

Sir Harry Johnston has again been expressing his views on the need of getting the African to take his share in the work of developing his country, in an article in *East and West* (the new S. P. G. Quarterly Review), in which he advocates the negro being encouraged to emigrate and seek work far from his home, with the hope of returning thither to settle down with a little hoard of wages, and a fresh stock of manliness and independence fostered by work and travel. Little exception can be taken to the general aims which Sir H. Johnston has in view. All "who have at heart," as he says, "the spiritual and bodily welfare of the negro" must admit the importance of getting him to bestir himself, but it is in the details of the scheme which Sir H. Johnston has developed elsewhere that we think the real difficulty lies. Here he merely urges that missionaries should not oppose the native seeking work far off *when they are sure* that nothing like the slave trade can be repeated, and that every provision is made for his return home—an assurance not easily attained—nor does he dwell upon the means which are to be taken to "encourage" or "induce" unwilling labourers. This danger is referred to by the Rev. Brownlee Ross in an article on the subject in *The Union Magazine*, where, speaking of labour recruiting through the chiefs, he says: "These African chiefs are past masters in the art of secret intimidation and tyranny. They, and labour touts from the mines, with all expenses paid, and large commissions for every 'boy' taken to the mines, will never lack ways and means to provide cheap labour and to convince the British Government that it is not forced labour." Sir Harry Johnston rightly points out that the native labour problem is one which Great Britain, in these days of European Protectorates and spheres of influence in Africa, cannot evade; even if she withdrew from her responsibilities altogether, she would but yield her place to "other nations less scrupulous and more greedy." But we fear that Sir H. Johnston's suggested solution is not a sound nor a practicable one.

Colonel Harding, the late Acting Administrator of Barotseland, who accompanied the King, Lewanika, to England last year, has emphasized some of the difficulties of exporting native labourers in a recent interview with

Reuter's representative. After stating his belief that there would not be any supply from north of the Zambesi available for Southern Rhodesia or the Transvaal, Colonel Harding continued:—

"Moreover, and I think, rightly, Lewanika does not encourage his people to go to seek work south of the Zambesi. It has been found that natives going to the mines have returned with all the vices of civilization and with none of its redeeming qualities. Everywhere in Barotseland it is found that the troublesome men are those who have come into contact with irresponsible and undignified white men. I am convinced that this is one of the great causes of the labour question in South Africa. Natives are attracted by the rate of wages, and go to the mines, only to find that they have to work under white men, who, in many cases, are completely ignorant of the proper treatment for the particular tribe to which the men belong. Natives from the Great Lakes, and natives from other parts of Africa, whose habits, food, and customs are entirely dissimilar, are, in many cases, treated, fed, and housed alike, with the most unsatisfactory results. I would strongly urge upon those who are considering the burning labour question that one of the things most to be desired for a better condition of things is the appointment of a better class of European as compound managers, and to superintend work both above and below ground at the mines. Especially, since he has seen the dignified work of white men in England, King Lewanika is most anxious that his people should be industrious; but even he recognizes the fatal policy of employing irresponsible white men to control natives."

This is a weighty opinion, and we notice that Colonel Harding expressed similar sentiments in giving evidence before the Johannesburg Labour Commission. He added, however, that natives would, he felt sure, come in more readily to work if there were provision made for them on the main roads by which they travel, and also for their return to their homes at the end of their contract. One native going home dissatisfied would do more harm in discouraging others from seeking work than fifty others returning content would do good.

Parliamentary.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, *July 30th.*

EXPORT OF NATIVES FROM CENTRAL AFRICA.

SIR B. GURDON referred to the employment of natives from Central Africa in the mines at Johannesburg and to the unfortunate results that had attended the experiment. He expressed a hope that the Colonial Secretary would be able to assure the House that this recruiting, which had obviously proved a failure, would be stopped, and that no further endeavours would be made to get men either from Central or East Africa for work for which he was sure they were entirely unsuited. In order that the sense of the Committee might be taken on the subject he moved to reduce the vote by £100.

MR. CHAMBERLAIN: . . . The hon. baronet, the member for Norfolk, referred to the importation to South Africa of natives from British Central Africa, which he regarded as a failure. I do not know whether the facts are correct, but I have asked for information. I will only say that the most successful of our emigrations to the West Indies was in its inception attended by somewhat similar circumstances. The wants of the natives were not then so well understood as they are now, and consequently in the first instance there was a considerable amount of sickness. Therefore the fact of such sickness among the natives of British Central Africa who have gone to the Transvaal would not be a conclusive reason against continuing the experiment. Assuming the facts to be as stated by the hon. baronet, they are not at all satisfactory. On the other hand, I refuse to pay the slightest attention to such statements as the hon. baronet read from gentlemen in Central Africa, whose one object it is to keep the natives there, *ascripti glebæ*, attached to the soil, in order that they may have a sufficiency of labour at an exceptionally low cost. We have it from the able Administrator of the Protectorate, on whose good faith I have the fullest reliance, that there is a great amount of surplus labour, and that, apart altogether from the question of South Africa, it would be of advantage to the Protectorate to try its hands at South African work.

August 10th.

REPORT OF SUPPLY.

AFRICAN PROTECTORATES.

SIR C. DILKE said he proposed to move a reduction in the vote in order to enable the Prime Minister to reply to the other points which would be raised in the course of the discussion. What he desired to call attention to were the negotiations which were said to be pending for conceding some portion of the Anglo-Egyptian sphere in the province of Bahr-el-Ghazal to the Congo State. His doubts had been raised by the answer given by the Prime Minister in the last few days. He begged the House to force on the Government the declaration that no such transfer of territory from the Anglo-Egyptian sphere to the Congolese Government should be perpetrated in face of the facts now known. He also called attention to the indefinite extension of the responsibilities of the country without commensurate result in connexion with African protectorates. Vast sums had been spent on the virtual annexation of these protectorates, and feeble was the prospect of return. These protectorates were mostly countries growing produce of the kind grown in the West Indies. If we could not make the West Indies pay, we should never make these African protectorates pay. In Zanzibar we had assumed the fullest responsibility for the system of slavery which still continued to exist in that country. As regards the East African protectorate the same question arose. He denied the allegation of Sir C. Eliot that any British promise had been made to recognize slavery there. No such promise was given, no one had power to make such a promise, and no such promise was

understood to have been made by the persons to whom it was addressed. In connexion with slavery, in several of these protectorates a system of concessions was springing up, which, if not absolutely illegal, required to be scrutinized with the strictest attention. He implored the Government, if they could not prevent altogether the concessions for the extraction of rubber from the native forests, to watch them with the greatest care, for it was a system which was bound to have the frightful results which it had produced in the Congo, and if it had not these results it probably would not pay. The whole policy of these protectorates was one in which he personally had no belief. Sir C. Eliot in his final report recommended that, as regards the interior of Uganda as well as British East Africa, the Government might see their way to assist the establishment of corn growing and other industries. It was a wild goose chase. We were trying to render more difficult our supplies of food in order to spend money in districts which were so far from the coast that there was no prospect they could ever compete with other grain-growing countries. He begged the Government not to embark upon a career of expenditure in connexion with those protectorates which nothing in their past seemed to justify.

SIR J. GORST drew attention to the whole policy of the Foreign Office towards the native races in those African protectorates for which the Government was responsible. He wanted to know what action the Government had taken on the unanimous resolution passed by the House earlier in the Session, to which the Government gave their consent, and what prospect there was of some really practical steps being taken by the European Powers to put an end to the condition of affairs in the Congo State. There could be no doubt that there was great danger at the present time of a new species of slavery being established in tropical Africa. The demand for rubber was great, and it could only be collected with the aid of native labour. If that labour was not watched and protected by the Powers, he feared that it might degenerate into slavery. The regulations prevailing in the Uganda protectorate were perfectly satisfactory on paper, but their value depended on how they were administered. The Government should abandon the practice of giving monopoly concessions of rubber, or if they thought it necessary to continue that policy it should be most carefully watched by the home Government.

EXPORT OF LABOURERS FOR THE RAND.

Next he asked as to the experiment in Nyasaland for the transference of native labour to the Transvaal Colony. He described as perfunctory the regulations under which these natives had been exported. How, he asked, was a magistrate in Nyasaland to explain to the ignorant native the nature of underground work in a gold mine? (Hear, hear.) If anything like a regular exportation of labour from Nyasaland was to take place very much more careful and elaborate regulations would be necessary in order to secure that the natives really knew the kind of work to which they were engaging themselves. He desired to know what

steps the Foreign Office were taking to bring adequately before Parliament the results of this experiment. The House should have full information as to how these natives had fared in the Transvaal; how many had been put in prison for declining to go underground; how many had died; and how many had returned to Nyasaland. In the mean time, he hoped no more natives would be exported to work in the Transvaal mines.

Mr. SYDNEY BUXTON said there was a strong feeling in the country with regard to the action, both moral and commercial, of the Congo State, and the Government would not be well advised in carrying out the policy with which they were credited of exchanging territory with that State at the present time. With regard to the experiment of recruiting Nyasaland natives for work at the South African mines, he had received information that 350 were recruited and actually went to Johannesburg. Of these 68 refused to work underground, on the ground that they had not been aware that this was a condition in the contract, but, unfortunately, the magistrates did not take that view, and they were sentenced to a fine of £1, or a fortnight's imprisonment. Thereupon, a number of their comrades refused to work underground. If there had been any such misunderstanding, he thought an explanation was necessary. He thought it was much to be regretted that slavery had not been abolished in the mainland strip of ten miles, opposite to Zanzibar and Pemba, in our protectorate. The financial position of the East African and Uganda protectorates, which were practically one for financial purposes, was profoundly disappointing. The total gross expenditure was over £800,000, while the total revenue was only £140,000, and they were told, too, that considerable expenditure would have to be incurred in the development of the countries through which the Uganda Railway passed.

Mr. BALFOUR, in the course of his reply on the various points raised, said: Then there were various questions asked with respect to the Protectorates. The cost they throw upon the British Exchequer was deplored; and it was pointed out that although the revenue is increasing, the active expenditure for this year and next year is increasing at an even greater ratio. That is true, and of course is to be regretted. But I would point out in the first place that the amounts involved are not relatively very considerable, and in the second place that it is premature to despair of these Protectorates ever being a source of wealth to this country. I hold a very different view of their future. I do not say that next year, or the year after, or the year after that, we are going to have large favourable balances to show; but I do say that in this period of our commercial history more than any other, it is urgent that we should develop markets that cannot be wrested from us by the hostile tariff action of any foreign Power. (Hear, hear.) There was a question asked by the member for the University of Cambridge in regard to the experiment now being carried on in the migration of labour from Nyasaland to the Transvaal. The Colonial Secretary is much more competent than I am to deal with the question; but I

am in the position to say that the experiment is being most carefully watched by the Government, and that every effort is being made to see that no injury or hardship is inflicted upon these migratory labourers. It is perfectly clear that if, as the right hon. gentleman seems to suppose, there is a danger of these labourers having gone to the Transvaal under some misconception as to the character of the work which they were expected to perform, or as to the remuneration they were to receive, that is an evil which in the nature of things must remedy itself. Those who returned report as to the remuneration they received and as to the character of the work they had to do, and it will rest with the people of Nyasaland whether they continue to go to the Transvaal in the circumstances. It is manifest that if the labour is of a kind which is unsuitable to the inhabitants of Nyasaland there is no chance of any large number of the labourers making the experiment of leaving their own country.

THE LADO ENCLAVE.

There was one question raised by the right hon. baronet the member for the Forest of Dean as to the negotiations with the King of the Belgians with reference to what is known as the Lado enclave and other territories upon the left bank of the Nile. The House knows that all the difficulties in which we now find ourselves arose out of the arrangement come to in 1894 during Lord Rosebery's Government. I think Lord Kimberley was Foreign Secretary at the time, but I am not quite sure. The arrangement was made by which we were to have strip of territory, or rights over a strip of territory, running north and south, connecting our southern Protectorates with the north of Africa. The Belgians were to have a lease on the Nile which was to terminate with the life of the present King of the Belgians, and there was also a still larger portion of territory in perpetuity to the Congo State so long as the Congo State should either be under the King of the Belgians or should be an independent State or should belong to Belgium. No sooner was the agreement made than circumstances which were not very satisfactory at the time and circumstances which are not very satisfactory to look back upon, occurred both in the construction which we understood and in the construction which the Belgians understood. Subsequently the situation was rather complicated by the battle of Omdurman and the re-establishment of the rights of Egypt over the Sudan. That has produced a situation of considerable diplomatic perplexity. It would be difficult to say what are the rights of the King of the Belgians, but it would be as difficult to hold that he is wholly without any equitable interest in these regions at all. I should not like to say more on this subject of delicacy than that we are fully alive to the difficulties of the situation, and that the view which the House of Commons has expressed in the most formal manner as regards the methods of administration of the Congo region must undoubtedly form an element in determining the policy of this country. (Hear, hear.)

ZANZIBAR AND PEMBA SLAVERY.

So far as Zanzibar and Pemba are concerned, the question of slavery may be

regarded, as the hon. gentleman opposite said, as in a fair way of settlement. If language as sanguine can hardly be used in regard to the mainland, there is no doubt that slavery is dying there as fast as it can well die. As our influence extends slavery disappears. I believe in a few years the whole question will be a matter merely of historical interest. Even during the last few years there can be no question whatever of hardships or any of the graver evils, and in Zanzibar and Pemba the difficulty is not so much the freeing of slaves as the inducing the slaves to accept freedom. In many cases it is the master, who, against the wish of his slave and in order to obtain compensation, compels the slave to accept that which, if left to himself, he is reluctant to take. There is always a double and an opposite danger in these questions of transition from slavery to freedom. There is the danger that people on the spot will be too keenly alive to the difficulties incidental to transition. They see with too critical a gaze the undoubted evils which always accompany transition. They are apt to magnify those evils, and undoubtedly they are occasionally irritated by extreme statements which are made with the best possible intention by those engaged in the task of attacking slavery on the platform or in the Press—a task which everybody in this House will admit is sometimes accompanied by a certain amount of exaggerated statement. The other danger is a danger much less serious, but a danger which we must not forget, because it is one which attaches to our own action. While the people on the spot are almost certain to see the difficulties attending the transition in an exaggerated light and on an extreme scale, we, firmly impressed as we are that there is nothing which can be worse than slavery, are perhaps too oblivious of the fact that any step which may be taken to mitigate the transition from the *status* of slavery to freedom is not an easy task. In this particular case, as the House is aware, great evil has been produced by turning some of the younger female slaves loose upon society, and there has been an increase of prostitution in consequence, with all its attendant evils. But of these two dangers the second is by far the less, and probably there has been an incalculable amount of good done by the pressure which this House has found it necessary to exercise in order to overcome the *vis inertiae* which too easily besets officials on the spot. The right hon. member for Cambridge drew attention to the great land concessions in Uganda in connexion with the trade in india-rubber. I do not offer any opinion as to what has been or is going on in any other countries besides our own. That is not my business at the present time, but I can reassure my right hon. friend and the House that, as far as the concessions in Uganda are concerned, we are fully alive to the perils which naturally beset concessions of this character. We are watching them with the closest attention, and we think we are in a position to give a guarantee to the House and the country that they will be attended, at all events in Uganda, with no abuses of the kind to which my right hon. friend has called attention.

[We draw attention elsewhere to the significance of these closing remarks of Mr. Balfour on the Slavery Problem in Zanzibar.—ED. *Reporter*.]

Zanzibar Slavery.

FRIENDS' DEPUTATION TO THE FOREIGN OFFICE.

A DEPUTATION representing the Friends' Anti-Slavery Committee waited upon Lord Lansdowne at the Foreign Office on the afternoon of Saturday, July 25th, in order to lay before the Secretary of State their views as to the present position of slavery in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, and to urge its complete abolition at an early date. The interview, which was arranged through Mr. J. A. Pease, M.P., was, we believe, asked for in the name of the Anti-Slavery Society as well as that of the Friends' Committee, and the memorial, which was read, mentioned the Society as sharing in the petition. Owing, however, to the very short notice which was given of Lord Lansdowne's intention to grant an interview, no member of the Anti-Slavery Society who was not also connected with the Friends' Committee, was able to be present, although an effort was made to make known the appointment.

Lord Lansdowne was accompanied by Sir Clement Hill, Superintendent of African Protectorates, and other officials.

The Memorial, which was read by Mr. E. W. Brooks, after a reference to the British policy of "personal freedom for all," as set forth in the Emancipation Act of 1838, contended that the Abolition Decree issued by the Sultan of Zanzibar in April, 1897, had failed to accomplish what was expected of it. Up to the end of 1901, when the Decree had been more than 3½ years in operation, less than 14,000 slaves had been liberated, and unless a radical change were made, many of the slaves had little prospect of ever obtaining freedom. On the labour question the memorialists made the following declaration :—

"It seems to have been an impression on the minds of some of the local officials, that the result of a policy of immediate emancipation would be to deprive the Arabs of the labour that is necessary for the proper cultivation of their land. We differ entirely from that view. We believe that if the present state of transition were terminated, and all the slaves that remain were at a very early date manumitted, the freed slaves would remain with their present masters, and become their labourers working for hire with more goodwill and greater efficiency than when in slavery. The plan of employing slave labour in association with free labour has never been a success. The Arabs of the islands complain of being without sufficient labour to properly cultivate their estates, and while the state of slavery is allowed to exist, we hold that it is unreasonable to expect that free labour from the mainland will be attracted to the islands to work in association with a slave population. The natural increase of the slaves is almost nil, and the higher birth-rate that would attend a state of freedom has not come into operation. Thus the ranks of the labourers are continually depleted by death, and importations of labour from the mainland, which formerly existed,

have now come to an end ; the working population so necessary to the prosperity of the islands is continually decreasing, with no probability of an improved state of things, until the condition of slavery is entirely abolished."

They therefore asked in the interest of the whole community that a very early date should be fixed for the entire abolition of slavery.

Mr. Theodore Burtt emphasised the need for the early abolition of slavery ; not only is the whole system utterly wrong in principle, but also bad from an economic standpoint. Much has already been done to ameliorate the lot of the slaves, and the prosperity of the island has increased during the past six years ; but they believed that, until slavery was entirely abolished, the people could not rise from their degradation. Neither could the labour question of the island be properly settled ; and any system of forced labour under contract was as bad, if not worse, than slavery as it at present exists. Free labour for wages had been proved far more satisfactory than slave labour.

Mr. H. S. Newman alluded to Sir Charles Eliot's statement in his last Report on the degeneration of the Arabs. They rose in East Africa on the slave trade, and in the dying out of slavery their power was waning.

The sooner the ideal mentioned by Mr. W. J. Monson in his recent Government Report on Slavery and Free Labour, viz. : "the exploitation of the natural resources of the country by the *voluntary labour* of its inhabitants" was realized, the better. An enlightened Government ought to raise the standard of womanhood, whether among the Arabs or the natives. The Government had shown a disproportionate consideration for the feelings and interests of the Arabs.

Mr. W. A. Albright also spoke.

Lord Lansdowne made a brief reply, which we consider anything but encouraging, for he repeated the well-worn arguments in favour of continuing the *status quo* in Zanzibar and Pemba, and while declaring that the Government was not endeavouring permanently to maintain slavery, they yet thought it wiser "to move more slowly." They looked forward to the extinction of slavery within the course of, say, fifteen years. Lord Lansdowne would not even give any assurance as to placing a time limit beyond which compensation should cease, and he implied that the views of Mr. Rogers in favour of this course were not accepted by the Government. We cannot but think this is decidedly disappointing. At the same time we are very glad to note the sympathetic tone of the Prime Minister's reply to Sir Charles Dilke's remarks on this subject in Parliament at the close of last Session, the report of which is given in full on another page. Mr. Balfour emphasized the danger of the local officials exaggerating the evils of the transition from slavery to freedom, and declared it to be much more serious than the tendency of some at home to underrate those evils. His admission that "an incalculable amount of good" has been done by the Parliamentary pressure which has been brought to bear on the *inertia* of local officials, is at once a rebuke to the red tape spirit which always sees

difficulties and retards reform, and an encouragement to opponents of slavery to continue to watch carefully the working out of the problem, and to keep public attention constantly alive to its progress.

In a Report on the Trade of Pemba,* by Mr. Vice-Consul O'Sullivan-Beare, lately published, attention is drawn to the substantial increase in the trade of the island during the past two years. The Vice-Consul points out the uncertainty of the clove crop and the care which the plantations need, and recommends the local planters to devote themselves to the systematic growing of cocoanut trees, for reasons which he gives in detail.

Mr. O'Sullivan-Beare closes his Report with the following paragraph :—

"The increase in the trade of Pemba is certainly as surprising as it is gratifying ; and it justifies the confidence of those who held the optimistic belief that the abolition of the legal status of slavery in Pemba would ultimately prove beneficial even with respect to the material prosperity of the island."

We notice a recent official announcement that Mr. Basil Cave, C.B., H.M. Consul at Zanzibar, who has been Acting Agent and Consul-General, has now been appointed to the rank of "His Majesty's Consul-General in the Dominions of the Sultan of Zanzibar, to reside at Zanzibar."

This is in accordance with Sir Charles Eliot's statement in his recent Report on the British East Africa Protectorate, that, whereas it was formerly administered from Zanzibar, there has been a change in the centre of gravity, and Mombasa is now recognized as the seat of Government, most business concerning Zanzibar being attended to by H.M. Consul in that island. That officer's rank and title have evidently now been brought into correspondence with facts.

BRITISH AFRICAN PROTECTORATES.

THE following statistics regarding our Protectorates in Africa were given by Lord Cranborne (now Marquis of Salisbury) in the House of Commons on August 5th, in reply to a question put by Mr. H. J. Wilson :—The approximate areas and populations are—East Africa Protectorate—area, 350,000 square miles; population, 4,000,000, including 5,000 Asiatics and 450 Europeans and Eurasians; Uganda Protectorate—area, 80,000 square miles; population—natives under 4,000,000, Europeans about 300; British Central Africa—area, 42,217 square miles; population—native—this has been variously estimated at figures ranging from 3,000,000 to 850,000; a very recent return estimates it at 736,724; Europeans 538; Somaliland—area, 68,000 square miles; population, 500,000 (chiefly nomadic). The estimates of the native population must, in the absence of anything approaching a census, be received as in the main conjectural.

Forced Labour in Angola.

A FEW months since we mentioned in these pages that the Anti-Slavery Society had been in communication with Sir Martin Gosselin, the British Minister at Lisbon, who had forwarded the Society's letter, directing attention to the evils in the Portuguese Islands, to the Foreign Secretary.

We have since received another letter from Sir M. Gosselin reporting action which is being taken by the British Government to ascertain the condition and treatment of the contract labourers in San Thomé and Principe, and it is hoped that before long we may have official information on this subject.

Mr. Charles A. Swan, a missionary connected with an English mission in the Bihé district (supported by the body known as Plymouth Brethren, who have missions in many parts of the world), is now in this country on furlough, and has given us information about the "contracted labour" in Angola which is entirely in accordance with what we have previously heard and published from the accounts of other witnesses. The Natives are often subjected to cruel treatment at the hands of their Portuguese employers, and are sometimes seen working in chains. Although of late years, in speaking with the missionaries, the Portuguese have been very careful to use the term *serviçae* to describe the labourers rather than *escravo* (slave), which was always used in early days, their treatment differs in nothing from that of slaves. Since the rebellion last year, however, the condition of the labourers has slightly improved, for fear of a repetition of the disturbances.

In regard to the trade in slaves from the interior, which is of very long standing, Mr. Swan speaks of the recruiters going inland and buying, in exchange for trade goods and ammunition, the people, whom they bring down to the coast for export to the islands as *serviçaes*. He has seen hundreds of slaves sold to the whites for this purpose, and has conversed scores of times with both natives and whites as to the market value of men, women, boys and girls. But numbers of these poor creatures, bought in the interior, never live to reach the coast, for they are very poorly fed, and made to carry heavy loads of rubber, etc. The numerous skeletons lying by the wayside testify to the existence of the regular traffic, for in many instances the wooden fastenings for the hands and feet, which are used at night to prevent escape, are found lying beside the bones. The unhappy people may often be seen travelling in chains and carrying heavy burdens. Mr. Swan has not been in San Thomé, but he has never in his eighteen years' experience in Angola met a man or woman who has returned from a term of contract labour in that or any other of the islands.

A trader in Bihé said that since the rebellion he had been compelled to take out contract papers for all his slaves; at the end of five years he would simply take out further papers for another term's service, as the object of the authorities was, not to put an end to slavery, but simply to get the fee payable.

The Abuses in the Congo State.

A COPY of the Note which, in accordance with the Resolution of the House of Commons on May 20th, has been addressed by Great Britain to the other signatory Powers of the Berlin Act relative to the Congo State, was handed by the British Minister at Brussels to the Belgian Minister for Foreign Affairs on August 19th last.

"The Note," wrote the correspondent of *The Times*, "sets forth that certain practices in the Congo State are, in the opinion of Great Britain, contrary to the spirit of the Act. This is notably the case with the question of forced native labour and monopolies granted under the system known as *domaine privé*, which are, it is alleged, in contravention of the clause stipulating for freedom of commerce in the Congo Basin."

A very strong feeling against the action of England in taking up this question is reported to prevail in Belgium; a "League for the defence of Belgian interests abroad" has been formed, supported by the most influential representatives of the commercial and industrial classes, and also by scientific and purely patriotic societies. The League already numbers more than 10,000 members.

"All the living forces of the country," says a Belgian account, "are henceforth grouped in a single union for the defence of the interests of Belgium."

Committees are established in every town to spread the propaganda of the League, and the principal societies have drawn up resolutions expressive of their sympathy with the King in what they consider to be a calumnious attack upon him.

The correspondent of the *Morning Leader*, however, has stated that two prominent Belgian statesmen are of opinion that the action of Great Britain is not altogether uncalled for, and that they are strongly opposed to the present system of Congo government, and have expressed their opinion to King Leopold.

An important debate on the subject of the Congo took place in the Belgian Chamber of Deputies early in July, when MM. Vandervelde and Lorand spoke out plainly against the evils of the absolutism prevailing in the State, and the cruel exploitation of the natives. Replies were made by Baron Favereau, the Foreign Minister, and Count de Smet de Naeyer, the Prime Minister, which are fully reported in a publication which has recently been issued by the League of Defence above mentioned, under the title *La Vérité sur le Congo*, and circulated in this country. The character of this volume, which is printed in three languages, English, French and German, is similar to that of the previous *apologia* which appeared after the publication of Mr. Fox Bourne's book, and is sufficiently indicated by the following extracts from the opening address "To the Reader":—

"A Belgian undertaking—the Congo State—is passing through a period of attacks, disparagement and violence. It is the business of Belgians to defend it. That is the object which we have in view. . . . The charges advanced against the Free State will be here periodically taken up. . . . Our task will be performed, and we shall disappear when the general mind of the public shall have been enlightened."

The writers profess to oppose monopoly and privileges, but they are also "convinced defenders of the rights of property." As regards the treatment of natives they state that while Belgians would be foes to any *régime* offering violence to the natives,

"On the other hand, they have no wish to be in Africa the instruments of the policy of some dreamers, whose idea is to leave native populations to wallow in idleness—the mother, as has been said, of every vice—without profiting by the wealth which nature has bestowed on them."

Baron Favereau admits that the natives are forced to labour to a certain degree, and he lays down that *no civilization is possible without the appropriation of the soil and the acceptance of the law of labour*. This question was also touched upon by M. Hennebicq, a Belgian economist, in a long speech delivered at the inaugural meeting of the League, when he quoted from a letter addressed by the King to the Congo Officials in 1897, to the effect that the most imperative and most wholesome of the new laws to which the agents of the State must subject the native populations was assuredly the Law of Labour, a fundamental and simple principle,—on behalf of which the speaker invoked the authority of St. Paul—clear to all except the lazy negroes, whose only idea is to bask in the sun.

The chief points which are insisted on in the parliamentary speeches of the Belgian Ministers, and the slashing address of M. Hennebicq in defence of the Congo State reported here, are :—

1. That the Congo State is independent and sovereign, and existed prior to the Berlin Act. The Belgian Government could not interfere if it would, but, as a matter of fact, it is convinced that the State has fulfilled all its duties and engagements.

[It is hardly necessary to recall the profuse expressions of humanity and benevolence with which the State was ushered into existence, which undoubtedly led the Powers to acquiesce in its foundation ; moreover, the State and its Sovereign were parties to the Berlin Act, and are bound by its stipulations.]

2. That a State has the right to take possession of all unowned lands, and that this policy has, in fact, been adopted by all colonizing nations. No civilization, according to Baron Favereau, is possible without the appropriation of the soil.

3. That the State has never contravened the freedom of trade as understood by the Berlin Act. The State has Sovereign rights to regulate its property as it chooses, but, as a matter of fact, commerce is free on the Congo.

These are the main points which purport to reply to criticisms of the Congo State policy, the rest being devoted to eulogium of the work accomplished by the State against Arab slave traders, and for the civilization and protection of the blacks, and, further, to vilification of the motives of Great Britain in taking up the cause. M. Hennebicq did not mince matters, but declared that the resolution of May 20th was "the outcome of a patient campaign" which had been carefully worked up for several years by English merchants and Chambers of Commerce, who "caressed a dangerous dream of universal domination"; with much more to the same effect.

"It is," he said, "the systematic colossal effort of the boldest individualities of one of the most powerful nations of the world, whose efforts we have to destroy, and whose machinations we have to break down."

Considerations of humanity M. Hennebicq believed to be "only a pretence and a screen," the real motive of the agitation being that English merchants are aggrieved by failure to supplant Belgian trade on the Congo.

Recent telegrams announced that some 35 persons were in prison at Boma on various charges of ill-treating the natives, while other arrests were expected. This would appear to show that the local authorities have been aroused into taking some measures to repress violence, but, on the other hand, it is pointed out that the clerks who are suffering imprisonment at Boma are but scapegoats for the higher officials, who get off scot free. It is the whole system of administration that is the cause of outrages—the policy founded on the declaration that almost the whole country consists of "vacant lands," the products of which belong to the State, and on its proprietary rights as determined by the Sovereign—and this is in no way affected by the prosecution of subordinates.

A *résumé* of the Brussels reply to the British Note has been published as we are going to press. This statement is adroit and confident, but as an answer to the charges it must be held to be thin and unconvincing. It is admitted that acts of cruelty to natives have occurred, but these are said to have been punished; the British attacks are based on unproved allegations. Forced labour is defended on the ground of the necessity of teaching the native to work. It is declared that the method of recruiting for the *force publique* is not like the slave trade, the levies being arranged by agreement with the native chiefs. But this method, as is well known, gives much room for oppression and abuse. The defence of the monopoly system is far from clear, but the Free State seeks to justify its policy of occupying "vacant lands" and granting concessions as being in the general interest, and declares it is not opposed to the Berlin Act, which did not proscribe the rights of property; the present attempt would ruin commercial enterprise in the whole Congo area. The complacent conclusion of this document is that the British Note must be held to be null and void.

Native Troubles in Fiji.

IN reference to the grievances complained of by the natives of Fiji, questions were put in the House of Commons by Mr. Cathcart Wason on July 14th and 30th, in the first of which he asked that in view of the allegations made against the Administration an independent Commission should be appointed, or that they should be referred to a Committee of the House. On the later date, Mr. Wason, referring to the existence of a state of forced labour which was discreditable to this country and disadvantageous to the natives themselves, asked as to the imprisonment or deportation of natives who had signed a petition to the King, and as to the circumstances connected with the flogging of a native named Josephata. Mr. Chamberlain, in reply, said that a Commission was unnecessary, and that he had every confidence in Sir Henry Jackson, the Governor who had recently gone out, who had shown the greatest ability, and was now conducting an examination into the whole situation in the Fiji Islands. The fullest inquiry would be made. He wished to warn members, however, "against being misled by information which was not to be relied upon."

The unsatisfactory condition of things was brought before a meeting of Members of Parliament, which was held in a committee-room of the House of Commons on July 22nd, at which Mr. Cathcart Wason presided. Mr. Humphry Berkeley, an English barrister residing in Fiji, who has taken up the cause, spoke of the grievances of the natives (to which we have before referred in these pages), which include forced labour on the roads, and restrictions practically amounting to slavery. Mr. Chamberlain had denied that there was a poll-tax in Fiji, but natives between sixteen and sixty have to pay a tax of 24/- a head, to which white men are not subject, and this amount they have to contribute by means of forced labour. Mr. Berkeley, who has recently been engaged in defending a number of the natives in the islands, who, it is asserted, have been harshly treated, has brought to England a petition, signed by 10,000 of the natives, praying for an alteration in the laws which govern the islands. Several petitions have been lodged with the local Colonial Secretary concerning the matter; but all these, Mr. Berkeley declared, had been thrown into the waste-paper basket. Mr. Berkeley further quoted instances of men who had been imprisoned for refusing to work on the roads, and of chiefs who had been deported for signing petitions to the King, and he also gave details of a case in which a magistrate ordered a native to be flogged without trial. The population of the islands, Mr. Berkeley stated, had been reduced in the last twenty years from 120,000 to 105,000, which decrease he attributed to harsh laws. In one year the Chief Justice of the islands, the Acting Chief Justice, the Attorney-General, and the gentleman appointed to succeed the Attorney-General, had all resigned their offices. This pointed to something wrong. Since Sir H. Jackson had been appointed Governor of the colony matters had somewhat improved. But without any reflection upon the Governor, who is regarded by all parties as

an upright and impartial official, an independent Commission of inquiry was required.

Sir Charles Dilke said he had always maintained that the system of government which prevailed in the Fijis was bad, and he thought that an inquiry ought to be held into the alleged abuses.

The petition of the natives which is in possession of Mr. Berkeley has not yet been presented to the King, Mr. Chamberlain having declined to receive it. Mr. Berkeley, on the other hand, was not inclined to present the petition through the officials of the colony, as "he knew the fate of such documents."

Mr. Berkeley declares that under the existing Native Regulations there is hardly a day that natives are not imprisoned upon one excuse or another.

Serious charges were made against the Administration of Fiji last year, but Mr. Chamberlain declared that after inquiry he was convinced that they were unfounded. Mr. Berkeley is now in a position to show that "every paragraph of the Administrator's Despatch," on which Mr. Chamberlain's assurance was founded, "is incorrect." For example, as regards the deportation of chiefs, which was officially denied, Mr. Berkeley can show the original deportation orders, and he has the exhaustive judgment of the Chief Justice of the Colony declaring the deportations to have been illegal, ordering the release of the Chiefs, and condemning the Government to pay all costs of the illegal actions taken by the Administrator.

The Race Question in America.

REPORTS which have recently appeared in the newspapers of what is known as the "Peonage" system show that there has been in the Southern States a real revival of slavery under a cover of legality. It appears that, under an Act recently passed by the State of Alabama, it has become the practice for negroes alleged to be destitute or vagrants to be sentenced to fine and imprisonment, and, in default of payment, to be handed over to work under contract for planters who presumably undertake to pay their fine. Further, a "debt collection law" permitted a lender to arrange with the borrower (always a negro) to pay his debt in labour. This system has been developed by the planters making further periodical advances to the contracted negro labourers from time to time, for which they exact payment by involuntary servitude in the same way, thus gaining the labour they want practically for a permanence. There has doubtless been collusion between the magistrates, police and employers of labour, the result being that slave labour has been supplied by the magistrates to the planters on demand. A number of details of the procedure have been published by the *New York Post*, whose correspondent declares that negroes are "picked up indiscriminately" by constables for petty and often entirely fictitious offences.

"They are then taken before complaisant magistrates, who impose a fine. Then a planter comes, pays the fines, and takes the culprits into slavery. The negroes, tied in groups, are taken to plantations, where they are set to work in the

fields. Guards are placed over them and the plantations are patrolled by men armed with rifles. Whippings are frequent; a negress was whipped to death last year. If the negroes run away they are chased by hounds."

The correspondent says that this slavery has existed for years and is increasing, but that its actual proportions were not suspected by Southerners.

The Federal Government has taken decisive action with regard to the system, and many arrests have been made. The question whether the Alabama statute was valid and operative was brought before a Federal Court in that State, and it has been decided by two judges (themselves Southerners) that the contract labour laws were unconstitutional, because they sanctioned imprisonment for debt and allowed the involuntary servitude of human beings. At a trial which took place at Montgomery in July, the Grand Jury found a true bill against no less than ninety-nine persons including landlords, magistrates, constables and others charged with taking part in the system, and sentences of five years' and one year's imprisonment have been passed upon three offenders. In passing sentence on two of these, the judge thus described their crime:

"You are bound to know that what you did was a violation of the laws of God and of the State. Helpless and defenceless persons, guilty of no crime, have been brought into court, and by collusion with justices of the peace, who prostituted the authority of God and of the State in the administration of justice, have been deprived of their liberty, fined, forced to work, and cruelly beaten."

Evidence accumulated by secret service agents has shown that men in Alabama and Georgia have acted very much like the old slave dealers, bidding for negro criminals, and reselling them to plantations which required them. Ignorant negroes, it is said, have been compelled to sign contracts which have not been read to them and which they cannot themselves read, only to find that they have bound themselves in some cases to several years' labour.

The Grand Jury of Montgomery made a startling report of the atrocities inflicted on the hapless labourers, and a recent account in the *New York Herald* states that Peonage, always of black men to white masters, is common in almost every agricultural county throughout the real Cotton Belt. The abuses have grown up almost imperceptibly under colour of local laws, and are the result of blunted public opinion and an extraordinary social situation.

"The slightest investigation will establish the fact that whenever one gets away from the larger towns, the railroad stations and the telegraph offices, the negroes on all the large plantations operated by white men, and in some cases on those managed by negroes themselves, are slaves in everything but name.

"There are miles upon miles of the best cotton country in the world where the black people are subjected to 'discipline' so severe, so brutal and so effective that they are compelled to do exactly as the owner of the plantation orders them to do. Nominally they are free, but actually they are slaves."

As regards lynching, it is to be feared that this evil has recently spread more widely than ever, and has attained to an alarming pitch of intensity. Cases of mob violence have occurred at Wilmington in Delaware—where the lynching of a negro was attended, it is said, by "horrors quite unprecedented in a

Northern State and rarely equalled in the South,"—in Indiana, Illinois, Mississippi, and Virginia. The case reported from Wilmington is especially noticeable, as the town is within three hours' journey of New York City, and yet the barbarities were fully approved by public opinion, and little was done to trace or punish the leaders.

In another case, we read of a reign of terror prevailing in the State of Illinois, and of the whites in the town of Indianapolis burning the negroes' houses.

A trustworthy correspondent of the Howard Association in Washington, D.C., recently summed up the situation as regards the treatment of negroes in the Southern States, by the remark, "Slavery in the South of to-day is several degrees more cruel and wretched than it was before the Civil War."

The outbreaks of lynching have called forth a striking letter from President Roosevelt, whose strong and courageous stand on this question is the one hopeful feature in the situation, addressed to the Governor of Indiana. After thanking the Governor for his action with regard to the lynching crisis at Evansville, the President declares that the growth of lynching in the country must cause the gravest alarm to all thoughtful men, and alludes to the "peculiarly hideous forms so often taken by mob violence" in the case of black victims. Good citizens cannot forget the dreadful consequences which follow the exaction by the mob of "inhuman vengeance for an inhuman wrong."

"The fullest recognition of the horror of the crime and the most complete lack of sympathy with the criminal cannot in the least diminish our horror at the way in which it has become customary to avenge these crimes and at the consequences that already are proceeding therefrom."

Mr. Roosevelt dwells on the degradation done to the community itself where tortures are inflicted:—

"There are certain hideous sights which, when once seen, can never be wholly erased from the mental retina. The mere fact of having seen them implies degradation. This is a thousandfold stronger when instead of merely seeing the deed the man has participated in it. Whoever in any part of our country has ever taken part in lawlessly putting to death a criminal by the dreadful torture of fire must for ever after have the awful spectacle of his own handiwork seared into his brain and soul. He can never again be the same man."

The President points out the remarkable fact that in the recent cases of lynching, over three-fourths were not for rape at all (which is always given as the excuse for the summary vengeance), and asserts that in defying the law, the bonds of American civilization are weakened, and the chances are increased of its overthrow, and of the substitution for it of "a system in which there shall be violent alternations of anarchy and tyranny."

While Mr. Roosevelt does not do more than hint at the real root of the evil, the racial hatred of the blacks by the whites, his fearless action in recognizing and upholding the rights of the coloured people in defiance of a large body of public opinion throughout the States, shows that he is fully alive to the magnitude of the issues involved, and has no intention of evading this most thorny question

Freed Women Slaves at Tangier.

Mr. Henry Gurney asks us to publish the following short Report.

LADY NICOLSON writes that the work is being carried on on the same lines as before; the number of the women relieved keeps up, there being twenty provided for. One old woman who broke her leg, and another who was ill, have been having extra allowances.

Miss Winslow constantly visits and looks after them. She reports that the water supply for the huts in which the freed women live is now a difficulty, and it seems that they may have to purchase their water in skins.

The following account shows that the finances are satisfactory :—

FREED SLAVES' FUND.

November 1st, 1902, to June 30th, 1903.

1902.	RECEIPTS.	\$	ron.	1902.	PAYMENTS.	\$	ron.
Nov. 1st.							
To Balance in hand		291	16	By Allowances to Women,			
" Subscriptions and Dona-				Rent of huts, &c.	277	3	
tions collected at Tangier				1903.			
and in England		577	19	June 30th, Balance brought			
				forward	592	12	
		<u>869</u>	<u>15</u>		<u>869</u>	<u>15</u>	

THE SLAVE TRADE IN MOROCCO.

THE following extract from an article in the *Morning Post* by Mr. S. L. Bensusan, on Morocco City, the southern capital of the country, agrees with previous reports received as to the gradual diminution in the trade :—

"The approach to Marraksh, most characteristic of all North African cities, will recall Damascus to most travellers. . . . Past the bridge we met a Moor holding two little black boys by the hands. He told us he had bought them on the previous evening in the slave market for \$135 the pair, that is to say, about £11 a piece, and he was taking them to the Tadla country, where he hoped to realize a good profit on his purchase. Asked if the lads came from the South he said that great trouble had been experienced in getting proper supplies since the French took Timbuctoo, and that these boys had been born in the city. He explained that many dealers bought men and women slaves, raised families, and sold them as they grew up. All this, and much that I have no wish to record, was said quite simply and without shame, in the shelter of a great fig tree that kept us from the worst of the rain, and then the dealer continued his journey, for, as he said, the sooner he could sell his property the greater his profits would be. We met no more slaves on the road; the absence of Sultan and Court from Marraksh has a great effect on the market, and I saw comparatively few slaves for sale when, later on, I attended the auctions in the city."

SLAVE TRADING IN TRIPOLI.

WE regret to read the gloomy report of the Italian Anti-Slavery Society as to the increase of the trade in slaves carried on from Tripoli. The number of slaves embarked every year at the ports for transmission to Constantinople and other centres continues to be large, their export being facilitated by bogus letters of emancipation, and the Italian Society, which has five stations established in Tripoli, has to report that it was only able to secure the restoration of 100 slaves to freedom during the year. The Society is said, indeed, to be "almost powerless in the presence of universal Moslem hostility."

A later report says that the traffic in slaves continues to flourish almost without check in Tripoli, notwithstanding all international undertakings and internal regulations. Between January 1st and July 31st, no fewer than 48 consignments of slaves had been liberated by purchase by voluntary agencies, chiefly Italian, but these are a mere trifle compared with the horrible frequency of the traffic. Young women are especially in demand, and they go principally to Constantinople to the seraglios of the Pashas. Men can be pointed out in Tripoli living in open affluence on the proceeds of this infamous traffic.

Native Labour in the French Soudan.

An article in a recent number of the *Bulletin* of the Paris Society of Commercial Geography gives the result, in the form of questions and answers, of an enquiry into the subject of native labour in the French possessions in West Africa. It is treated from the economic standpoint, and the writer therefore clings to some sort of regulation of labour, and the maintenance of a modified system of domestic slavery, but the recognition of the value of the native's work when properly directed, and the paramount importance of treating the native fairly and kindly, is interesting, and the article is full of suggestive information. We therefore give several extracts.

THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF SLAVERY.

"Slavery exists always in practice, and is the result of a state of things which has lasted for centuries; but the slave trade, wherever it is found out, is rigorously checked. There are, therefore, strictly speaking, only *domestic* slaves, who live in the family with their masters in a condition of quasi-liberty. Moreover they always have the right to claim their full liberty for ill-treatment, disguised sale under the form of engagement to other masters, insufficient food, etc., in which case they present themselves before the administrator who examines their case, and, if the circumstances permit it, sends them to the head-man of the village of freedom which is established in every district. After three months' stay, the captive can ask for a certificate of freedom which is never refused him."

In reply to the question if slaves can easily become free men, it is stated that, speaking generally, the captive can become a free man if he ransoms himself by paying the price of two slaves, which may be approximately estimated

at 400 francs. In some countries the young female slave who bears her master a child of either sex becomes free, the child being free also. Sometimes a woman becomes free only when she has borne several children to her master.

All the local customs are in favour of slavery; at the same time they are not opposed to liberation. In Moslem countries, the law even demands that the master shall accept the ransom of the captive who asks for it.

Slaves who are very well treated do not want liberty; they have no notion of its meaning. It is different if they are not so well treated, and they may desire freedom for their children.

The chief work of all slaves is the cultivation of the fields; the women do the cooking, wash the linen, look after the children, spin the cotton and keep the house in order. The black man, speaking generally, works as little as possible. The slave, however, works a little more than the free man, it being by his work that he lives when his duty to his master is fulfilled.

Somewhat contradictory of this seems the statement that "the native is busy every day of the week from sunrise to sunset," the free man taking Monday and Friday as holidays, while slaves are allowed to work for themselves on these days. Again it is asserted that slaves, if well treated, are obedient and work zealously; if not, they desert.

EMIGRATION.

The native is usually willing enough to go out to work at a short distance from his own village, but not more than four or five days' march, and he will not engage himself for a longer period than one year. He generally wants to return home at the time of sowing and of harvest. Only a small number will consent to go right away, and then always with the hope of returning to their homes to enjoy the results of their labour.

LABOUR CONTRACTS.

Engagements for long terms present difficulties and give inadequate results. Piece work, in small quantities, is best. A European who wishes to employ labour, can get it without difficulty if he is near a centre of population and can keep on good terms with the head-man of the village, above all if he holds very strictly to engagements made with the natives.

The native is capable of being made into a good worker, but by reason of his natural indolence and thoughtlessness, he needs to be constantly directed and helped. So while, from the humanitarian point of view, the régime of absolute liberty is the ideal, regulated labour which is constantly subject to supervision is economically more profitable.

SLAVE TRADING IN SENEGAL AND THE SOUDAN.

"It exists no longer, at least openly. Certain Ouolofs of Cayor, who cannot help regretting the old régime, still try to practise it. They come sometimes, on the pretext of buying oxen, into the villages remote from the centres, and endeavour to return to Lower Senegal with their human cattle. But they are constantly watched and are fairly often arrested and their merchandise confiscated.

The penalty is imprisonment and a fine of 100 francs for every captive, the captives themselves being taken to a freedom village.

At the end of three months they are entitled to their certificate and can return to their own country.

FREEDOM VILLAGES.

These settlements known as *villages de liberté* have been established in every district since the French rule began; they are peopled with natives who have escaped from hostile countries, slaves escaped from their masters on account of bad treatment, or rescued from the slave dealers. The results of the system have been very good from the humanitarian point of view, but the need for the villages will disappear as civilization advances and the country becomes more quiet, and the slave trade ceases to exist.

In reply to the final question, in which it is suggested that Europeans might be authorized to buy slaves on condition of liberating them within a specified time, it is strongly asserted that such dealings could not be thought of, as they would be "completely opposed to our traditions and the principles which we endeavour to impress upon the natives."

The Assistant Secretary.

WE regret to announce that the Society is about to lose the services of Mr. C. Ernest Morland, who has efficiently filled the post of Assistant Secretary since 1898.

Mr. Morland has, for some time past, felt drawn towards the work of the Friends' Industrial Mission in the island of Pemba, and recently offered himself for service there, with a view to assisting Mr. Theodore Burt, the senior missionary, on the Banani estate. That offer has now been accepted by the Friends' Anti-Slavery Committee.

The Committee, and especially the Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, greatly regret that they will no longer have the advantage of Mr. Morland's co-operation and valued work in the office, but they rejoice that he is going to take part in an enterprise so important from the anti-slavery point of view as the Pemba Mission, with which the Society has been closely in touch from its foundation, and they feel sure that he will find in it a large and useful field for his energy and capabilities.

It is proposed that Mr. Morland shall sail for Pemba in February next, when Mr. and Mrs. Burt intend to return, but he will probably have to resign his connection with the Anti-Slavery Society within a few weeks in order to take up the training which is desirable for his future work.

New Member of Committee.

MR. HERBERT PIKE PEASE, M.P. for Darlington, has been elected a member of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, of which his father, Mr. Arthur Pease, M.P., was the President for sixteen years.